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Harold L. Ickes on Stassen—Page 18

New Republic

The STATE of the UNION

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Letters

The 1952 Campaign

● It is distressing when Truman calls Earl Warren "a good Democrat," but somewhat excusable in view of Truman's necessarily limited knowledge of Warren's record. But there is no excuse for a California Democrat to perpetuate this "Warren liberality" myth as Tom Kendall (my college debate partner) does (*NR*, Dec. 10).

The Republican clique in California, for whom Warren fronts, has perfected and systematized voter frustration and apathy. Aided by the pernicious practice of cross-filing, a feigned "non-partnership," and almost 100-percent control of the daily press, the Warrenites have rendered almost innocuous Democratic opposition to their effective, unenlightened conservatism, veneered with shallow liberal pronouncements.

Some "Democrats," preferring the winning side, have thrown in their lot with the Warrenites and thus we have the misleading spectacle of entire Democratic county committees supporting Warren. As to the "Anti-Warren extremists" in the Republican Party, their aim (if not solely that of bolstering the "Warren liberality" myth) is to replace Warren with one who will talk, as well as act, conservative. Their lack of money demonstrates that the big interests don't mind liberal talk as long as it's just talk.

When thinking of Warren, don't think of health insurance (about which Warren consistently does nothing but talk) or of cautious foreign-policy statements (Warren was tutored by Knowland). Rather think of Warren in connection with loyalty oaths, lowered corporate taxes, uncollected corporate taxes, boosted sales taxes and an admittedly bossed legislature.

I pray that if we must (must we?) have a conservative President, may it be an unabashed one like Taft. There are already too many psuedo-democrats heading governments in Moscow, Madrid, Buenos Aires, Seoul, etc.

Oakland, Calif. GEORGE F. MALONE

● In regard to Eisenhower for President, I think Alvin Johnson (*NR*, Nov. 26) takes far too much for granted and assumed from the General's charm and apparent openness that he would be a reasonable man for President and would do such a competent job on the immediate matter of foreign policy that all would be well.

I don't think all *would* be well. A good foreign policy is not enough, and don't forget the Eisenhower foreign policy is definitely on a short-time basis. What he *is doing is being* well done and *is* very necessary *but it is not enough*. I hold that the General's apparent openness is just that—only apparent. It is easy to say that his lips are sealed at the moment and I agree. But were they sealed when he was in civilian life a short time ago? He was a president of a University. What was his stand on loyalty oaths? Perhaps he declared himself; if so he did not ring a bell that can still be heard. What was his stand on the great domestic issues of our day? He was silent and charming. The silence might be smart and it might be good politics but to me it seems ominous as if he were afraid to put his ideas to the tests of public debate.

I think in the long run our foreign policy will have to wait on our domestic policy. To take a chance on an unknown quantity, a charming sphinx, is far too long a chance to take.

We are being held together by the gravity of a serious military situation. When that gravity is nullified we shall be in danger of disintegration by the centrifugal force of a disastrously unbalanced and completely uncontrolled economy—the Rooseveltian checks and balances would last only a very short time. Where does Eisenhower stand? What would he do at such a time?

No, I'm not as proud of Truman as I was when you published my earlier letter. His escutcheon is becoming a little tarnished because of his procrastination in cleaning house. But I'm still for him for the same reasons. There may be other men, perhaps better men, whose opinions *are* known. But let us not fly to evils *that we know not of*.

DONALD C. SKONE-PALMER

No. Hollywood, Calif.

Catholics and Liberalism

● I do not know how many Catholics will join the mystical views of Vincent J. Giese as expressed in his essay, "Liberalism: A Catholic View." He declares that he does not intend to criticize "the liberal movement, for certainly its present role of keeping the voice of freedom alive in this present age of fear, hesitation and hysteria is an important role. . . ." Would it be unjust to point out that much of the hysteria, fear and hesitations of which he complains seem to arise from Catholic sources. Some of us suspect that McCarthyism, for instance, would never have reached its peak without the active assistance of many Catholics and Catholic associations. Mr. Giese's thesis that nondogmatic liberalism will never "make a creative contribution to the political and social processes needed to bring about a free world" is, to say the least, unbelievably naïve. Undogmatic liberalism *is* precisely what has shaped the democracy of the Western world and provides the greatest moral strength of the West; it is precisely this democratic liberalism which has created the atmosphere of freedom in America which has made possible the growth of the Catholic Church in this country. Mr. Giese may believe that "the battle for the soul of the world . . . . remains as one between the dogmatists, that is, between the Marxists and the Christians, both of whom have a God, beatific vision, a theory of revolution, a prophet, a body of doctrine, a missionary purpose and a credo." He may one day discover that there are millions of nondogmatists who have a stake in this battle, who have their own weapons of democracy, love of liberty and tolerance and who, in the end, may just achieve freedom from any dogma, left or right, red or black. In the view of many that is the hope of the world.

Washington S. WINSTON WHITE

Belgium's Fiscal Policy

● I read your editorial article entitled: "Snyder's Belgium Relief" (*NR*, Dec. 10), with amazement and unbelief. Statistical figures prove that inflation has set in in Belgium as well as in any other coun-

(*Continued on page 4*)

Bandwagon

Melody in Mink

Martha Raye's daughter Melody is, we believe, the only 6-year-old who has a mink coat to match her mother's. – *From Earl Wilson's column in the New York* Post.

Greater Than the Original

The myriad of words, most of them superlatives, nevertheless pale in comparison with the pictorial spectacle which Rome itself in all its glory never could have equaled. – *A release on* Quo Vadis *from the Motion Picture Association of America, Inc.*

Love Thy Neighbor

Rep. Peter F. Mack (D, Ill.) said today the US could not assist Iran financially unless it were certain the country could effectively handle any Communist threat. Mr. Mack is on a good-will round-the-world trip in his single-engined plane. – *UP dispatch from Tehran.*

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

SQUATTED ON the carpet of the elegant Shoreham Hotel suite with the camera light crisping our back hairs, we could look up the pin-stripe of Cabot Lodge's trousers to the smile of the personable Senator. From that angle we noted what good teeth he has. As our glance raised to head level, however, we kept catching the eye of the six-foot, blown-up photograph of Eisenhower on the back wall who had embarrassingly singled out us, of all the 150 reporters present, for his direct personal grin. At that proximity it is a little overpowering. We tried ignoring him and kept our mind on the announcement that Ike's name would be entered in the New Hampshire GOP primary. We got the intuitive feeling that Ike would win the primary—and maybe the Presidency, too. The most fun was when an intrusive Congressman tried to ask a question and the tense reporters, hammering Lodge with questions, with a perfectly unanimous howl of rage demanded what he was butting in for. He made noises like a man who had received a direct head-blow from the speakers gavel. We got away finally without looking, Ike still grinning at us.

Washington's sluggish season is over and suddenly there is more news than you can follow. It will be like this until June, when Congress will quit early to campaign. Winston Churchill arrived by air. He looks older. Congress is back and Truman gives them the works in a series of three messages. The election preliminaries are gathering steam: Eisenhower's candidacy is announced by indirection. Truman will probably make his own intentions known within a month. Gov. Earl Warren is resisting the efforts of Taft's managers to stampede the GOP. Young, liberal Senator Kefauver (D, Tenn.) is making known his own availability. On top of that there is foreign news. Washington is whirling at top speed again.

We repeat what we have said several times before: our best information from the State Department and Pentagon is that the active war stage in Korea is about over; however, long truce-talk haggling continues. It is not too early to calculate the historical consequences of Korea; there are three in particular whose importance can't be exaggerated: It has removed the doubt that the West would tolerate further Russian aggression. *We* won't. It has put America in a posture of defense so that, for the first time in history, American strength will be available immediately if war breaks out without any two-year wait—a condition that might have averted World Wars I and II. Thirdly, we and Russia now know, almost certainly, that any similar act of aggression will precipitate full-scale war, not limited war; the narrowness by which extension of the Korean War to China and Siberia was averted, which came in the row between MacArthur and Washington, proved that.

A lot of people think that when and if the Korean truce is signed they can breathe freely and relax. Already signs contradict this. Moscow is developing a post-Korean War strategy. There was Stalin's New Year's message to Japan; there is a Kremlin campaign for an East-West trade conference in Moscow this Spring: there is prospect of stiffer pressure against the French in Indo-China once Korea quiets down.

If Moscow re-opened East-West trade, it would have the most far-reaching consequences. Moscow's postwar trade blockade has driven Western Europe into the North Atlantic Alliance and the arms of the USA. If Western factory products could once more be exchanged for Kremlin raw materials, Europe's economic recovery would be swift. It would probably do more to solve Britain's woes than any other one thing. Washington dollars would no longer be life-saving.

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Moscow's move would save Washington money—and it would also probably knock the economic foundations out from under the NATO.

Anybody who thinks Congress will readily accept the reform in the Bureau of Internal Revenue which they have been demanding and which Truman now recommends is naïve. Congress has had a wonderful time denouncing tax derelictions, but Truman's drastic proposal to substitute a blue-ribbon civil-service agency for the 64 political revenue collectors is another matter. Democrats don't want to lose patronage. Republicans don't want to lose a campaign issue. Disgruntled Congressmen can hardly afford a frontal assault against the Truman project, based as it is on an old and excellent Hoover-Commission recommendation. But they can say it doesn't go far enough, or goes too far, or attack minor details. Just the same it's going to be fun watching them try to wriggle out of this one.

The steel strike has been postponed, not dropped. Contrary to our contemporaries we would rather expect a strike in about 45 days, after the Wage Stabilization Board conducts its public economic fact-finding into the industry and makes its recommendations. We doubt if the steel industry will accept the recommendations when made. Maybe we are pessimistic about this, but twice in five years the industry has rejected such findings and precipitated a strike. This makes it embarrassing for anti-union newspapers who would, of course, denounce the workers as "unpatriotic" and "disloyal" if it were they who rejected the findings. We doubt if the press pays much attention to the Board's public hearings in the next few weeks.

Notes: Democratic hopefuls are waiting Truman's word—Adlai Stevenson, Kefauver, Barkley, Kerr. . . . Kefauver plans to see Truman Saturday. . . . Paul Douglas tells friends he won't run and means it. . . . "Lodge to Enter Ike in N.H. Primary"—New York *Times*, Jan. 7; "The Eisenhower announcement should come in January or February. He'll consent to a draft."—TRB, Dec. 17.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 2*)

try in Western Europe since the beginning of the Korean War. While in the United States it amounts to 110 percent, in Belgium it reaches 112 percent.

As to Belgium's credit position in the European Payments Union, this results partly from the fact that raw materials imported in Belgium and paid for in dollars, are very often re-exported as raw materials to other countries of the EPU, and consequently paid for in the EPU pool. Also many businessmen in other EPU countries, lacking confidence in their own national currency, tried to transfer their capital to Belgium, and did it by means of a commercial transaction, simply in order to avoid being victims of a possible devaluation of their own currency.

If, at the present moment, Belgium has a strong creditor position in the EPU, this is not due to her own action but to the action of other countries. Furthermore, Belgium's position as a creditor in the EPU is not unique, for at this very moment Italy, Switzerland, Western Germany and even Holland have the same redoubtable and very costly privilege.

The favorable monetary position of Belgium is due solely to the fact that since the liberation, a number of financial and economic measures have been taken which have resulted in bringing about a strong currency; these measures have been unanimously applauded in the American press. . . . If other Western European countries had followed Belgium's wise financial policy, they would at present be in the same position too.

With regard to unemployment, this is a sectional phenomenon which applies mostly to the textile business. It may interest you to know that the same phenomenon is happening right now in the textile business in the United States.

New York City LEON BEKAERT

Rieve and Baldanzi

● It's distressing to make a complaint to the *New Republic*, but sometimes there's no alternative. One of the times arrived with your November 26 issue and the article by Harry Conn.

Referring to the Textile Workers Union of America, Mr. Conn says Emil Rieve, the union president, is pulling organizers out of the South for fear they'll organize votes for George Baldanzi, the executive vice-president. This is a grave charge; and it's just not true.

In the South as elsewhere, Rieve has put the welfare of the union ahead of internal politics—far ahead. For example, when James W. Bamford was appointed Southern director in October, 1950, TWUA's Southern staff numbered 75. This figure is identical at this writing, and will be at least one more in a few weeks. To be sure, these 75 are not all the same people as a year ago; but here again, politics was not involved. Of those dismissed, by far the greater number were Rieve backers.

Pursuing the point, Mr. Conn refers to Baldanzi as the man "Rieve failed to purge in 1950 and whom he reportedly will again attempt to purge at the union's next convention." Leaving aside the definition of "purge"—though I think it's debatable, in a democratic society, if running Joe against Mike in a free election meets the definition—we come to the little word "reportedly." As far as I know "reportedly" is the only one who has said, up to now that Baldanzi would be opposed in 1952. Rieve hasn't said it, and neither has any member of the Rieve administration. . . .

New York City KENNETH FIESTER

● Ken Fiester takes exception to two points in my November 26 article. First is the question of TWUA organizers and the South. During the last year Emil Rieve removed from the area vice-presidents John Chupka and Mariano Bishop and state or assistant state directors Paul Schuler, Ferdinand DiSilva and William DiChessi. Removal of these key and experienced officers is not exactly conducive to organizing, as the dismal organizing record in the South shows. On the other hand, leadership is being given organizers in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Rhode Island, New York, other states and in Canada, not for organizing but to swing local union members to Rieve.

The second question concerns the plans for another attempt at "purging" George Baldanzi in 1952. On Nov. 6, 1951, the *Paterson Evening News* "reported" this in an article headlined "Rieve to Renew Efforts to Oust George Baldanzi." If this is not true, as Ken maintains, most trade unionists will feel it is the labor movement's gain. However, it was definitely "reported."

Washington, D. C. HARRY CONN

Catholics and Birth Control

● I have read Gilbert L. Oddo's (*NR*, Dec. 3) letter in which he tries to defend the Catholic Church against the scentific birth control. The opposition of the Catholic Church against birth control is wrong, misrepresented to the very ones who need it, as something against the laws of nature or against the laws of God.

The object of birth control is not to reduce the population but to increase its vigor by reducing the number of physically, mentally unfit. . . .

Cleveland, Ohio THE REV. A. J. MONCOL

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New Republic

THE WEEK

STEELWORKERS' PATRIOTISM

The CIO Steelworkers were not in a playful mood as 3,000 delegates met in special convention at Atlantic City to consider strike action on their contract demands. Irked by the steel companies' refusal to make counter-proposals or further consider their demands, president Philip Murray, in a rare display of open anger, growled loudly: "The steel industry can go to hell with my compliments."

Angry though it was, the union did agree to accede to a strong plea by President Truman to postpone the strike and work without a contract maintaining steel production for the defense program. The dispute will be turned over to the Wage Stabilization Board, and the union has asked for a decision in 45 days.

The decision will actually be a recommendation, mandatory on neither the industry nor the union; but, patriotism on the union's part has temporarily shelved a steel strike.

EISENHOWER AND 1952

The manner in which the announcement of Dwight D. Eisenhower's active candidacy for the Republican nomination was made provides some clues as to the future strategy of the General's supporters.

In throwing Ike's hat into the ring by proxy, Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge explained the unusual nature of the procedure by quoting an army regulation which provides that:

> Members of the Regular Army, while on active duty, may accept nomination for public office, provided such nomination is tendered without direct or indirect activity or solicitation on their part.

Senator Lodge explained that General Eisenhower's hands are tied so long as he continues on active duty as supreme commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's forces in Europe. Once he resigned that post, he would be free to campaign in the usual political fashion.

But suppose General Ike decides to remain on active duty to and through the time of the Republican national convention? What chance will Republicans have to learn the General's views more specifically than they have been outlined by Senator Lodge? And suppose, if nominated, the General still found it undesirable to discontinue his active duty during the months between July and November? The American people, presumably, would have to accept second-hand statements from those campaigning on his behalf on the crucial issues of the day. Such a strategy of silence would surely bring confusion to the Democratic opposition. If this is the course being urged upon the General by those to whom he has entrusted his political future, we trust that his own judgment will reject their counsels as against the interests of American voters in knowing the facts basic to freedom of choice.

So far as the Democrats are concerned if, as has been reported, President Truman would prefer not to run again, the Eisenhower announcement should diminish his fears that Taft might be his successor and encourage him to retire. In that case, unless Truman chose to indicate his preference for Estes Kefauver as the next Democratic nominee, the Democratic national convention would almost certainly see a spirited contest—for Senator Kefauver is expected soon to make it plain that under any circumstances he will be a candidate for the nomination. Should the President back the candidacy of Chief Justice Fred Vinson, as has been rumored, it is highly doubtful that were Eisenhower to be named as the Republican standard bearer, the Democratic convention could be persuaded to take so colorless and politically nondescript a man as Vinson, even at the President's urging. Eisenhower has vastly improved Estes Kefauver's until now long-shot chances.

POINT TWO

Point Two on the Truman-Churchill agenda is the Atlantic Community. They may get around Point Two in the present talks, but they seem unlikely to get beyond it. When Churchill was on the high seas, on his way to the US, the London *Times* noted that judging by inspired stories in our press, he would find himself an unwelcome guest at the White House and the State Department. *Promptly editorial writers rolled out a* red carpet, describing their respect for the old warrior and their concern for an embattled ally. All this missed the reality in Point Two.

For Churchill is here to seek equality in partnership, and beyond that to offer to go as far, in the merging of sovereignty with America as we are prepared to go. On both sides our government is unsympathetic, or unprepared.

Churchill's claims to equality are discounted, first, because Britain's power has declined since the days of the Roosevelt-Churchill alliance, and second, because Britain has opposed America's growing insistence on European federation. On this issue after a poor start, Churchill has indicated that he will urge the Dutch and Belgians to join the European army. Yet Britain's weakness remains. A $300 million transfer from appropriations intended for arms exports will press to the background the specter of bankruptcy that has rightly appalled Churchill. But it is no solution. The only long-range solution is a merging of responsibilities which means a merging of sovereignties. For that, neither generosity to a weaker partner, nor amiable agreement on peripheral problems, will meet the issue raised by Point Two.

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ECONOMICS AND AIR SAFETY

The mudflats outside Elizabeth City, N. J., and the Alleghany foothills of Southwestern New York State are the sites of two air tragedies which may affect the future prospects for mass, low-cost air transportation in this country.

These two accidents involved C-46 type aircraft flown almost exclusively by the nonskeds. The Civil Aeronautics Board may soon take action either to ground the C-46s or so severely to limit the operation of the aircraft that it would be financially impossible to fly it as a passenger transport.

Under Chairman Donald W. Nyrop, the CAB is now investigating the nature of the accidents. A number of times in the past the C-46 has passed air-worthiness tests conducted by the Civil Aeronautics Authority. If the CAB finds structural defects in the aircraft now, it is that agency's responsibility, of course, to require modifications or other corrective action. However, the role of the C-46 in the nonsked's previous 26-month history of flying millions of passenger miles without a fatality does place the transport in a highly favorable light.

The great fear of the nonskeds is that the Board—long friendly to the certificated carriers—will utilize these unfortunate tragedies as a heavyhanded weapon either to wipe out or cripple the struggling nonsked industry and perpetuate the scheduled carriers' monopoly of the commercial skies. If so, the Senate Small Business Committee, which recognizes the nonsked industry as a major force for mass, low-cost air transportation, may step in.

Neutral observers are awaiting CAB action, hoping that the Board accepts its responsibility to safeguard, not only air safety, but also free enterprise.

LITVINOFF ON PEACE

IN NOVEMBER, 1942, I had a confidential talk with Maxim Litvinoff, then Soviet Ambassador to the United States, on the probable postwar policy of the Soviet Union and its current future relations with our own country. He talked with a frankness that would have been impossible a few years later, and, though his basic hopes have been dashed, some of the things he said are strikingly significant today.

Russia, he declared, wished to live in peace with the world and to co-operate in maintaining peace, as proposed many years before at Geneva. There was no reason why trade could not go on between socialist and capitalist states. But, ever since the 1917 revolution, Russian policy had been governed by indications of enmity in other countries and that would be true in the future as well. Military co-operation would be a great factor in assuring postwar collaboration, provided military aid was given, but undue delay in opening a second front would poison future relations by creating a belief that the West desired to see Russia bled white.

I asked Litvinoff what he thought of the postwar prospects for disarmament, of which he had been the leading advocate in the old League of Nations. His answer was a surprising one:

"Disarmament is desirable. It may come after a 15- or 20-year test of amicable relations."

Asked about Soviet territorial aspirations, Litvinoff said his country wanted no territory outside of that "now included in the Russian state." By this he meant the Russian state as it stood after the annexations of 1939-40. He spoke specifically of the Baltic countries, Bessarabia and other parts of the old empire, lost in World War I, reclaimed when Hitler overran Poland, and afterwards overrun by German armies. I asked him if Russia's demand for Hango Peninsula did not produce a war with Finland which could have been averted by confining the demand to the area near Leningrad. No, he replied, "Finland would have given up nothing, not even the two summer-resort islands in front of the Kronstadt Naval Base, without war."

What is the prospect, I asked him, for a federation of Europe? It is impossible. And a Balkan federation? Impossible. I construed this to mean that Russia was opposed to both.

Litvinoff's remarks about co-operation for peace, security and trade may be set down as reflections of his own desires, rather than Russian policies of 1942. But some of his other remarks deserve study.

If the foremost Russian advocate of disarmament was able to visualize arms reduction only after two decades of friendly relations, what chance is there to impose it today on top of a cold war? The cart is being put before the horse. In the second place, the territorial aims indorsed by Litvinoff, the apostle of international understanding, have proved sufficiently alarming to set in motion the "containment" policy which, according to his analysis, was bound to be taken as an indication of enmity. This could only lead to Soviet counter-measures, such as the subjection of satellites, which would intensify the desire for "containment."

This indicates that Litvinoff may have been cast out of grace not because of a conflict over Soviet national policies, but because his interpretations of Western policy were disbelieved. It suggests that the most acute need today, if peace is to be maintained through understanding, is for each party to restudy the fundamental motives of the other.

IRVING BRANT

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The STATE of the UNION

"To us," said Roosevelt, "much is given; more is expected." That was never clearer than in 1952. Yet if we stand true to our tradition established by our first President, we will not shirk our world responsibilities.

For George Washington, our isolationists notwithstanding, was a world citizen at heart. He fought for American independence because, as he declared in 1789:

"The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican form of government are . . . finally staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people."

Today the issue is unaltered, even if the task has changed. During generations of weakness, when we were shielded by British power, our purpose, set by Washington, was to raise a standard of liberty *within* America to which other people might repair. Yet implicit in his design was the belief that the day would come when our responsibility in leadership would be primary and in terms of power, rather than ultimate and in terms of inspiration alone.

And that day arrived, toward the end of the second World War, when America's inheritance of primary responsibility for preserving the concept and practice of democracy across the world came due.

In the six years that followed, for all our hesitations and excesses, we met our responsibilities as well as an untried and unprepared nation could. We set out to rearm when lack of arms invited aggression. We contributed aid equivalent to $870 for every American family when misery overseas threatened democracy. We suffered 100,000 casualties in upholding the Charter of the United Nations in Korea.

And yet, throughout, we clung to the illusion that these exertions should be accepted and endured because they were transitory and in response to a short-lived emergency, rather than because they were lasting and in response to a continuing concern for the well-being of others on whom our well-being depends from now on.

We undertook substantial responsibility for recovery in Europe. We claimed control of islands in the Pacific. We sent an American to command Europe's armies. We posted our own soldiers thousands of miles from home. Yet we clung to the old notion that America was a new-found land, set apart from the quarrels and worries of a weary world. We advanced looking backwards, remembering Washington's warnings against entangling alliances, forgetting that they were uttered by an internationally-minded man to meet the exigencies of a wholly different situation.

Our government maintained that the problems of Europe were superficial and subject to quick solution. Our Congress adopted three one-year programs of foreign aid, then a four-year program, then a program to last three years. We undertook to give stop-gap military aid to Europe only if Europe would undertake miracles of quick recovery. And even the most internationally-minded of our leaders, General Eisenhower, cut the ground from under his own efforts by remarking that in two-year's time we would pull our soldiers out of Europe and bring them home.

Yet these commitments were only the obvious and outward expressions of our new responsibility. Its implications within our own society, though they are tremendous, have hardly been acknowledged.

"This generation of Americans," Roosevelt insisted, "has a rendezvous with destiny." That rendezvous was more than a brief encounter. The decisions that are on top of us already, the issues we must face in November, center on a conscious acceptance of America's new role.

We face the necessity of a lasting solution for the problems that threaten Europe and the British Commonwealth. We need to ask: *What is the lasting relation of America to these nations to be?*

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We face the necessity of continuing heavy expenditures on armaments to meet our growing commitments. We need to recognize inflation as a continuing problem and to ask: *how can we adjust ourselves to the permanent underlying impact of inflation on American life?*

We face the necessity of continuing mobilization and preparedness. We need to ask: *how is the state of mind which these programs engender to be prevented from hardening into an ideology of conformism which suppresses unpopular thoughts and an attitude of arrogance which makes negotiation with our enemy impossible?*

To these questions the *New Republic* has no ready answers. Today it is enough to recognize that the questions are urgent, and the answers far from clear.

II. THE TASKS OF LEADERSHIP

PEACE in Korea stands first on our agenda of hopes in 1952. It holds out an end to bloodshed in Korea, but little relief in our military and economic burdens. A peace settlement must be followed by military guarantees to the Republic of Korea. These guarantees by the US and its allies will increase our military commitments.

All over the world, as tensions rise, our commitments are growing. Yet in 1952, our world responsibility starts with advancing the program we have begun.

When this three-year program began last year, President Truman asked Congress to appropriate $5 billion for military aid to our allies, and $1.5 billion for economic aid. Congress appropriated the $5 billion; it cut the economic-aid program to under one billion dollars. When, as the ECA predicted, shortages, inflation and lack of support threatened stability and rearmament overseas, the President checked further setbacks by assigning unused military appropriations in the Mutual Security Program to economic aid.

This year, Europe's need for dollar aid is greater than before. The immediate reason is that Europe's arms production is scheduled to increase by 25 percent, increasing Europe's need for imports, lowering its ability to export and adding to inflationary pressures which have already lifted the cost of living for Europeans 25 percent since the Korean War began.

In Europe, as in America, increased production is basic to a program which sets out to provide military security without undermining living standards. Increased production is impossible in Europe without increased aid. Coal, for example, is Europe's greatest need. The Polish coal which used to heat Europe's homes and run its factories is no longer available. American coal is required and cannot be paid for by Europe's exports to the US.

If Congress appropriates less than $5 billion in military aid this year, it will disrupt the present plans of our allies to raise armies to share the military burden which otherwise falls on us. If Congress appropriates less than $2 billion in economic aid, it will disrupt those same plans by permitting inflation to shrink the budgets of our allies.

For every dollar cut from these estimates the contribution of our allies to a common effort will be reduced by at least two dollars.

Since it is a common effort, the continuation of an adequate Mutual Security Program is in our military self-interest. That is the way in which the administration seems certain to present the program to an economy-minded Congress in an election year.

And yet many searching questions will be asked by Congressmen and citizens to which military equations provide no answer.

Why, for example, should we continue to support an independent Britain whose national income is equal to Russia's? Why in addition should we finance the lion's share of the rearmament of 14 European nations whose aggregate income is considerably larger than Russia's? How many more times must these nations plead unforeseen emergencies in seeking aid? Americans may not be ready for a program of long-range reorganization, but they are certainly impatient with patchwork and makeshift. And yet these efforts which bring our allies back, hats in hand, are as demoralizing to them as they are disillusioning to us.

The alternative is to stop fooling ourselves, to recognize our lasting responsibilities, to arouse support for action and aid this year and from now on by relating them to long-range objectives that are dramatic, constructive and meaningful for us and for mankind.

It was no accident that world peace generally prevailed in the century between the Congress of Vienna and the first World War. It was maintained by Britain's acceptance of responsibility. British investors provided the capital for new nations. British taxpayers provided the naval and military forces which permitted new nations to grow in peace until they surpassed British living standards. To reject Britain's role as imperialist is to ignore the underlying progress that the ninteenth century brought about.

No nation today can or should re-create the pattern of Britain's imperial power. Nor has the United Nations the authority or the means to supplant the power of one

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nation with that of a world organization. Our task is to strengthen the UN, and while it grows to organize our own resources and strength, together with our allies, to provide military security, to maintain a flow of capital overseas, and to create a political framework for free nations which can release their productive capacities, and provide a new balance in their relations.

For Continental Europe, this framework means full federation. Our Congress recognized that when it declared that European union was the objective of American policy. Since then Europe has stumbled toward union, hindered by British hostility and US indifference.

Yet, backed by Eisenhower, the governments of the six nations that form Europe's inner core have drafted a treaty creating a European army. They have brought the Schuman Plan close to ratification. They have called for a true European government; a single, directly elected, bicameral parliament with power to levy taxes, to administer a combined defense budget and to oversee the management of the coal and steel industries, united under the Schuman Plan. Starting with the transfer of executive power to joint boards already functioning, they hope to transfer legislative power to the European Parliament by 1955.

This is the bold political program that provides a solution for Europe and a purpose for American aid. Europe is responding to the urgent appeals made by American Congressmen last summer. Our response in turn must be to persuade Churchill to give full political and military support to this federation, and to prevent any cutback in our own military and economic aid.

When Europe speaks with one voice, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, so cumbersome as to be unworkable today, can be reorganized as a three-in-one union in which America, Europe and the British Commonwealth join as equals to pool their strength. The transfer of additional power to NATO, in the formulation of common strategy, would naturally follow. One purpose would be to limit Germany's possible domination of a European union. One result, as we should realize now, would be to limit our own freedom of action, particularly where our allies today are compelled to follow our lead.

Within this union, what is our relation to the British Commonwealth to be? As long as European nations are divided and weak and as long as Britain opposes their unification, they are bound to fear and resist the growth of a special relationship between the British Commonwealth and the US. Yet a special relationship is clearly needed, and if European federation is formed with British backing, it can be brought about.

Britain faces a crisis quite apart from Europe. Its outline was drawn by Winston Churchill as he left for the US.

In the year 1951 the United Kingdom has failed by 500 million pounds to earn the money to pay other countries for what we have bought from them. In the month of October our gold and dollar reserves fell . . . at the rate of nearly 1,400 million pounds a year. This was the result not only of our own overspending but also of the overspending of other countries in the sterling area. Yet at that time the total reserves were little over one billion pounds. Unless this rate of loss could be reduced we were within a few months of national bankruptcy.

In part, Britain's crisis reflects the inability of productivity in a small and isolated market to rise at a rate commensurate with the demands of the British people for the basic necessities of life. In part, it reflects the wide swings in the fortunes of the sterling area which Britain can no longer control, but for which she bears the financial risks.

In the past the sterling system has been a major guarantee of world economic stability. It provided advantage for Commonwealth and neutral countries. It gave Britain a source of strength.

Today the sterling area is disintegrating. Australia and New Zealand are tending to follow Canada in linking their economies to the dollar. Egypt and the Near Eastern nations are liabilities rather than assets. None of these countries is sharing Britain's military burden. Yet as they profit from military orders, and expand their dollar purchases, they strain the sterling system beyond its limits.

Successive crises have brought Britain to the US for short-term aid which we have granted. Britain's own heroic efforts have raised her production 45 percent above prewar levels. The failure of our aid and her own efforts to overcome Britain's weakness must continue to be disheartening until both peoples realize that the solution lies beyond effort and aid and requires structural change.

In military terms it means the acceptance of joint responsibility for British commitments particularly in the Near East and South Asia.

In financial terms it means the gradual merging of the sterling and dollar areas, beginning with the establishment for both areas of a common clearing system similar to the European Payments Union.

In economic terms it means agreement now on eventual union.

The US is Britain's main supplier of critically important materials. Since her imports of these materials can hardly be cut, the long-range solution includes an increase of perhaps sixfold in Anglo-American trade.

Given an economic union, this expansion would take place. The means would be the redistribution of markets and new investment. The price if it were accomplished overnight would be mass unemployment and widespread bankruptcy in Britain's high cost industries. No sudden

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union is possible. Yet without the sense of permanence that agreement on union creates, the manufacturers of both nations will never begin to make adjustments. The need is to create an objective and a timetable, and from then on to relate aid to the dislocations which progress toward union may cause.

It seems unlikely that Churchill and Truman, in their present conferences, will face these issues. Truman and his advisers have shown little grasp of the problem. Churchill's strength is not in economics. His inclination will be to re-create the wartime partnership. That is a worthwhile step. But to direct the partnership to external symbols—an admiral in the Atlantic—a general in the Middle East—and to limit the partnership to the military and political spheres will prove futile in the end. The task is to create a partnership of substance as well as of symbols; to extend the partnership to all phases of joint policy and particularly to joint management of economic affairs. It is further to look beyond today's preoccupations to the realization, in the foreseeable future, of common citizenship.

Is it too much to ask that we stop fooling ourselves in 1952? When aid is related to a long-range program that offers rational hope it will earn new support. Divorced from policy, aid can become no more than a substitute for thought, and a means of delaying inevitable change.

That is one reason why America's overseas-aid program must not be set in a static, military frame. The second is that in regions beyond Europe, military security is not the answer to Communism or the basis of our aid.

There is a deadening sense that, thanks to our new concentration on military security, the bold new program is by now half-hearted and senile. That is not true. It remains a few drops in the bucket of our effort, but for the future they are all-important.

The truth is that the Point-Four program expanded fivefold last year, from $32 million to $153 million. Today, 600 American technicians in 35 countries are laying the basis for a major effort to modernize three-quarters of the world's schools, farms and health facilities.

Three-quarters of this aid is in regions in South Asia and the Middle East that are neutral at best, in world politics. All of it is free of political conditions. "You might think of Point Four," said the late Henry Bennett, "as the catalytic agent that generates progress within a culture, without changing its essential character."

In the long run, the gap between the living standards of rich and poor nations is a greater threat to peace than Russia's military might. Despite our rearmament, and Asia's progress, that gap is growing wider, not narrower today. Wealth in the form of capital exports is the short-range way to close the gap. It's a way that we cannot take in a much larger extent this year. Knowledge of the way to create wealth, in the form of many more technicians, is one way to help that we can further develop without overburdening our economy. This basic group of technicians should gain as much knowledge as they share—giving us a basis to carry out a more general and ambitious program of capital development when the arms burden eases and the Point-Four program can expand to take up the slack.

III. THE MEASURE OF LEADERSHIP

DURING this coming year, the United States will devote two-thirds of its federal budget to strengthening our defenses against attack. The size of the armament program considered necessary for the security of ourselves and our allies is so tremendous that deficit financing has been and for some time to come will be required to sustain it. National progress in the form of social programs has been forfeited while we concentrate our resources on rearmament. The economic pressures built up by the vast defense spending are damaging helpless groups of our people and cherished American institutions.

Yet if we are to be strong enough to discourage aggression, a fast pace of defense armament must be maintained for several years to come, regardless of whether peace comes in Korea. The cost will be great, but it need not be unbearable or inequitable, as it is in some cases today.

Miracles have been achieved in the increasing of our national capacity to produce in just the 18 months since the Korean crisis. At one and the same time, we have vastly increased the defense demands on our economy and reached a higher level of industrial expansion and a much higher level of enjoyment of goods by consumers. We can expand our industrial output still further and meet the successive goals of our defense program without serious hardship to our standard of living if the defense mobilization drive is carried forward in the proper order and with the proper restraints.

Neither the production nor the stabilization aspects of the defense effort are being so directed today.

Slightly more than a year ago, the United States set out to shorten the time required to bring this country to full strength in the event of attack. Our objectives were:

"1. To expand the industrial base so that if an attack

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comes we will have the industrial capacity necessary to produce the enormous quantities of weapons and goods required by total war.

"2. To assure an adequate supply of critical raw materials for essential wartime production.

"3. To maintain as healthy a civilian economy and as high a rate of civilian production as possible in view of the more compelling demands on our resources."

The rearmament program was scheduled to reach its peak in three years, by the end of 1953. But the "watchdog" Senate Preparedness Subcommittee has lately found "increasing evidence that the objectives of our mobilization program are not being met in the right order or with the proper balance."

"The important and discouraging fact," Sen. Lyndon Johnson's investigating committee has found, "is that our present rate of progress will not enable us to have [the] required strength by the target date set by our top strategic planners." Deliveries of the basic defense goods—planes, tanks, ships and guns—are lagging considerably behind schedule.

"In our view," the Preparedness Committee reports, "the urgency and priority of the primary mobilization objective—achieving as soon as possible the goal of minimum strength necessary to our national security—has been sadly neglected. We cannot believe otherwise when we observe the armaments production falling behind schedule because of alleged shortages—of machine tools, of materials and of plant facilities."

The big businessmen who took over in Washington, after Charles E. Wilson became Director of Defense Mobilization, have done a poor job. For lack of proper procurement scheduling, the delivery of defense orders is falling far short. As an example, the Munitions Board anticipated aircraft, guided missiles, ships, tanks, weapons and electronics in an amount in excess of $2.1 billion April through June, 1951. Actual deliveries were less than $1.5 billion. Dollar deliveries of aircraft were approximately 34 percent short of the goal during this period; guided missiles, 70 percent below expectation; tank deliveries, 40 percent below; and electronics 30 percent behind the target.

As the *New Republic* in its special issue "Spotlight on Mobilization" (April 16, 1951) warned would happen, businessmen in the Munitions Board and in the procurement offices of the armed services have not insisted that their old friends in industry deliver on their defense contracts when to do so inconvenienced regular operation. Businessmen in the National Production Administration and the Defense Production Authority did not cut off supplies from their friends and parent companies engaged in civilian production. Scarce materials have been burned up in the manufacture of luxury goods, and key industrial capacity is still being used to turn out nonessentials. Automobile manufacturers were permitted to build 5.3 million cars last year when four million would have been enough—and used up scarce steel and machine tools in the process. The "hardboiled" businessmen have proved too soft for the job of co-ordinating defense needs with civilian requirements.

Coming as they do from America's largest corporations, the masters of mobilization have not unnaturally encouraged concentration and monopoly. They have channeled defense contracts and allocated scarce materials in such a way that small independent businesses have found their difficulties vastly multiplied since the declaration of national emergency in December, 1950. Big businessmen in the procurement offices are awarding a steadily smaller percent of contracts to small concerns. Industry men scattered throughout the Office of Price Stabilization have not "tailored" price ceilings on materials to levels which small businesses can afford to pay.

The result is a preparedness build-up which is slow, wasteful and destructive of the forces of competition in our economy.

Since the Korean invasion, Congress has appropriated $94 billion specifically earmarked for weapons, supplies and defense construction. During the year 1951, approximately $43 billion was authorized for defense, including mutual defense supplies for our allies, but the best estimate seems to be that only $16 billion in actual deliveries was made during the year. The President's decision to lower his request for defense funds for the next fiscal year from an odd $60 billion amount to closer to $50 billion was at least in part a recognition of the inefficiency of the defense agencies in expediting the military build-up.

Where are the road blocks?

The most obvious production problems are:

Machine tools. Machine tools are manufactured by a collection of small firms, many of which still find private business more attractive than defense business. Plants which should have been producing machine tools for defense have been making dies for new automobile models. New cars will be coming out all next year, built from a fundamental sacrifice in the defense program.

A strike of 8,000 workers in the Brown and Sharpe machine-tool plant was permitted to drag on from August to October with no action by the government to get them back to work. The plant was never listed as essential to the defense effort.

Although a shortage of machine tools had already been anticipated long before Korea, the continuing obstacles to their production still have not been tackled by government. Suggestions for providing advance payments to increase working capital, for a pool-order program, equit-

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able price regulation for the industry, and for making up the shortage of machine-tool components are still in the idea stage. The Senate Preparedness Committee finds that "the Department of Defense has itself been delinquent with regard to the machine-tool problem. All three services have machine-tool reserves. We understand that while the Air Force has made its reserve available when the tools were not required for aircraft production, the Army and the Navy for a long period of time refused to do so. There is no excuse for such behavior occurring in a unified defense set-up with proper monitoring authority. It was intolerable in the light of the existing production difficulties immediately attributable to machine-tool deficiencies."

Materials shortages. Materials shortages are sometimes used as an excuse for failure to meet production schedules when other reasons are actually the cause, but some delays have unquestionably been due to them. A far more critical situation will be faced in the future. Generally, material shortages have been met in the same sloppy and planless manner as the machine-tool problem.

The scarcity of non-ferrous metals and minerals is extremely serious, but development of new resources has been painfully slow and insufficient. There are two main reasons: (1) private business has been almost vigilant about discouraging government in securing foreign supplies, and (2) the mineral interests have dragged their feet in fear of overexpansion.

The most flagrant dereliction has been in the copper program. Over a year ago, the Defense Minerals Administration outlined domestic projects to yield approximately 187,000 additional tons. To date, only two of those projects, accounting for only 40,000 tons, have been put into operation. Although there is a worldwide copper shortage, there is a reasonable potential that is not even considered in our present plans. Mobilization officials have, in effect, written off the possibility of securing more copper and are searching for substitutes.

Lack of planning and monopolistic control of the steel industry by the US Steel Corporation have brought a critical shortage of structural steel and a slight shortage of sheet or rolled steel which the industry, expanding in its own good time, will not be able to make up before the end of 1952. Similarly, the perpetuation of Alcoa's domination of the aluminum industry has retarded adequate production of this key material.

Design. Indecision about the design of aircraft, tanks, ships and weapons has in many cases either halted or cut down production. In the 18 months since Korea no complete tank design has been frozen.

Plant Expansion. Some industries were so eager to get on the gravy train of the tax-amortization program that they have constructed or are constructing new plants, which they can write off on their tax returns, while many standby plants of World War II lie idle.

Far more serious than these individual road blocks is the collective effect of the absence of centralized, responsible leadership and planning. The vast grant of powers which President Truman made to Charles E. Wilson in naming him Defense Mobilization Director remains largely unused. Procurement and production agencies operate independently and without co-ordination. There is no central planning staff to measure military demands and civilian requirements against available supplies of materials. The military services are allowed to screen their own requirements and are made to justify them to civilian authorities in only the most general way.

Unless these basic flaws in the defense organization are corrected, the lag in production will continue and the mobilization program will fall farther and farther behind its goals. Lowering the budget sights serves merely to cover up, instead of to cut out, the source of the defense production trouble.

The methods we have used to increase our military strength have weakened America's economic health unnecessarily. The tremendous volume of military contracts is changing the productive pattern of our economy. The vast sums involved are flowing into the hands of a few giant corporations, and economic concentration is growing rapidly. As military deliveries approach the rate of the more than $40 billion per quarter they are supposed to reach in 1953, the influence of the mobilization program on our whole industrial life will, of course, be even more decisive.

During both world wars as well as in this present national emergency, a high percentage of the total dollar value of military contracts has gone to a relatively few large companies. Between 1940 and 1944, according to the War Production Board, nearly 67 percent of all contracts awarded, totaling $175 billion, went to 100 large corporations. Fifty-one percent went to only 33 corporations. This general pattern has recently spread even further. During fiscal 1951, 100 large companies received 61.5 percent of the total dollar value of all defense contracts of as much as $10,000, according to a Munitions Board study. A total of 28.9 percent went to the 10 largest contractors; 44.3 percent went to the 25 largest; and 54 percent to the 50 largest.

During World War II the condition of small business improved after the Smaller War Plants Corporation was established, with the number of contracts going to small business increasing from 20 percent in 1944 to 30.4 percent in 1945. But this year the percentage of awards going

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to small businesses is even lower than it was during the year preceding the outbreak in Korea. Small businesses received 24.5 percent of defense contract funds during fiscal 1950, but only 21 percent in fiscal 1951. The latest figures show that the total small-business share dropped to 18.5 percent of military contracts between July and September, 1951. The comparative position of small business is definitely being weakened.

The Defense Department has been strong on policy statements regarding small business but exceedingly weak in applying them. Ringing declarations from top officials about a fair opportunity for all producers in dealing with the government have apparently gone unheard by the procurement officers who let the contracts.

One spokesman for a House committee investigating the problems of small business points out that: "There is a strong tendency for government contracts to flow toward the mass producers, those firms with the facilities, the financial resources and the technical and managerial skills to produce the necessary instruments of war with the least trouble to government procurement officials." The results are frighteningly clear. In the two years after Pearl Harbor, the number of business enterprises in this country was reduced by one-sixth. Nearly one million firms closed their doors. Meanwhile the larger companies grew, built new plants and modernized their old ones, often at government expense, so that when the war was over they were in a more commanding position than ever before. That growth of monopoly power is in the process of being repeated. The trend against small business must be reversed abruptly if US industry is not to be choked through concentration.

The Small Defense Plants Administration, headed by Telford Taylor, needs funds to establish field offices from which to work for a change in procurement policies—to bring about wider use of multiple awards in negotiated contracts and of the advertised-bid system; to prevent large corporations from obtaining certificates of necessity for tax amortization when existing small-business facilities are not being used to replace the military men now posing as small-business specialists in procurement offices with civilians who have small-business experience.

There are those, like Phillip Reed, chairman of the Board of the General Electric Company, who, fearing the possibility of "industrial overexpansion" more than potential military aggression against us, favor slowing down the rate of preparedness and extending the preparedness period beyond 1953 into the indeterminate future. They are supported by others, like Rep. Frederick Coudert (R, N. Y.) who put the balancing of the budget ahead of the speediest possible attainment of military strength and argue for a defense program only as large as can be paid for out of current income—next year estimated at $71 billion. Some, including certain Administration officials who doubt our ability to sustain full employment and prosperity by other means than military production are suggesting that our new productive strength be used on a long-term basis to store up "preparedness" economies abroad. A number of mobilization officials and members of Congress tend to placate such critics by complacently accepting the present slow rate of production. None of these views can be tolerated.

The fears of cautious industrialists about possible overexpansion are as foolish today as they proved to be before World War II. And the corollary view that the US can avoid depression only by indefinitely continuing to produce arms is equally false.

We need all the new industrial capacity we have created, and more, to carry through a positive program for world peace. The present mobilization program is aimed at peace through security. When we have reached a "readiness" position in our rearmament, the productive strength which we are developing can gradually be applied to eradicating the basic causes of world unrest—hunger and poverty.

Hunger is increasing in most parts of the world. Total world food supplies are estimated to have decreased by four percent since the beginning of World War II and world trade in food is reported to be about one-third less than it was prewar. In the areas of greatest tension, the underdeveloped countries, millions of people are consequently sinking from subsistence diets to imminent starvation. India, for example, with an anticipated five million ton shortage of food grains, faces a worse famine threat next year than last. Unless this trend is dramatically reversed, the Director-General of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization warns, "there inevitably will be . . . a rising tide of unrest, revolution and war."

To remove these basic causes of war requires a bigger and bolder effort than any yet proposed—integrating the human resources and the natural resources of the underdeveloped areas, promoting research, invention and industrialization as well as improvement of the land. If, with a $330 billion economy we can spend billions for military preparedness, with the near $400 billion economy the US will have by 1955, we can surely invest billions in a peace effort which will be wealth-creating and largely self-liquidating.

By improving our defense production performance and returning to the schedule which calls for reaching the peak of the preparedness build-up by the end of 1953, we can look forward to raising the goals for foreign economic aid very substantially—and thus improving the chances for peace—with the beginning of 1954.

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IV. THE HUMAN COSTS OF LEADERSHIP

AMERICAN families are paying the price of world leadership through higher taxes, an increase in the cost of living and a decrease in the proportion of national resources which can be devoted to social welfare. Given increasing defense expenditures for several years to come and continued reluctance of Congress and organized interest groups to adopt stringent economic controls or enact heavier taxes, the outlook for the American economy for the indefinite future continues to be what Washington economists call "stabilized inflation."

Forty-five percent of all wage earners in the US, the Department of Labor estimates, have failed to keep pace with the rising cost-of-living which, according to the Consumer Price Index, has climbed 10.8 percent since war began in Korea. The prices of food, clothing and other essentials are now 87 percent above prewar levels and still going up. Factory workers in the highly organized industries, those in the building trades and on the railroads are almost the only ones who have maintained real wages as high as those they earned a year ago.

The hand of inflation has fallen heavily on the 14.5 million workers in trade and service industries in the past two years. During the time it has taken the cost-of-living index to rise 12.5 percent, seven million employees in the retail trades won only an average increase of 10 percent in hourly earnings, the Labor Department says.

In spite of NAM propaganda about the wealth of our farmers, the facts show that the average farmer, too, is hard hit. Farm-purchasing power actually is down to 1942 levels. In terms of 1935-39 dollars, spendable farm income in that year was $7.3 billion. That figure rose to $8.3 billion in 1945 and $8.9 in 1947. But in 1951, farm-purchasing power is again down to $7.0 billion. The latest tabulation made by the Federal Reserve Board on the distribution of occupational groups by income shows that 30 percent of all farmers in 1950 received no more than $1,000 before taxes and another 21 percent earned between $1,000 and $2,000, with the average annual income for the whole farm-operator group in 1950 amounting to $2,480. That is only 10 percent more than the average income of the unskilled and service group and substantially below the average for skilled and semi-skilled and clerical workers.

White-collar and professional workers, approximately 85 percent of whom are still non-union, have been falling behind in the race against high prices ever since the end of World War II.

Although the strength of the economy as a whole has never been greater and disposable consumer income continues to rise for the entire country—reaching $225 billion in the third quarter of 1951—these groups of our population are dropping behind the rest in the distribution of income. As the trade unions establish cost-of-living clauses in their wage contracts, this trend will increase unless vigorous efforts are made to give special protection to professional and unorganized people.

Obviously, the long-run answer for this latter group is unionization. As the unorganized are brought into the unions, their relative position will be improved. Meanwhile, raising the federal minimum-wage level and requiring fair employment practices for minorities can be of some help.

But the problems of inflation for professional and intellectual workers in America are far more serious and difficult of solution. Continued inflation, even of the most gradual kind, will jeopardize the very existence of many of the institutions in which these people are employed. Small colleges, private schools, independent newspapers, magazines and publishing houses, small businesses, small farms, and private research organizations throughout the country are struggling to survive. The always low wages paid to our public-school teachers, librarians, government employees and ministers, dwindled to practically nothing by inflation, is driving thousands from those occupations to better paying jobs and deterring young people from preparing themselves for those occupations in the future.

For the colleges the present economic squeeze worsened a long-time dilemma. High taxes have radically cut many of the great private fortunes which have supported them. The colleges are already relying on student fees to an unprecedented extent. Even Harvard, our most lushly endowed university, is now getting more of its income from fees than from investments. Yet, the 20 private universities which share 80 percent of all endowments are in a relatively favorable position. For the hundreds of smaller schools, operation is becoming more and more of a hand-to-mouth existence. They managed to survive World War II with the help of special armed-forces training programs. But those are over. After the war these schools expanded their facilities to meet the influx of veterans, thereby increasing maintenance costs, so that even small drops in enrollment leave big gaps in their budgets. Today, the mathematics of defense manpower and a four-million-man army threaten to slash male college enrollment heavily.

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Research grants from government and industry are no solution, for present contracts force the universities to bear almost all the overhead cost on special projects, so that they actually lose money on them. A new GI education bill, currently being considered by Congress, is judged by most educators as a long-term necessity. Twenty percent of American youths today start to college in comparison with only three percent in 1900. But the figures can be misleading. Despite this increase in general enrollment, three out of five of the most intelligent 20 percent of our high-school students do not go on to college primarily for financial reasons. It is this group which a new GI bill or a general federal scholarship program should aid.

The small publisher and the operators of small experimental schools are both caught between the increased cost of doing business and a falling off of support due to the effects of inflation on their customers.

The number of small business concerns which have had to shut their doors surely runs into the thousands, although exact figures are not available. The number of farms, particularly family-size farms, has been steadily declining since the World War II inflation began—from 6.9 million in 1940 to 5.3 million in 1950—as the cost of farm land has increased 15 percent and the cost of machinery has reached a new high. Without the adoption of some form of federal aid to lessen the disadvantages suffered by small farm producers, such as the bill being sponsored by Sen. John Sparkman (D, Ala.), continued slow inflation will make family-sized farming progressively more unattractive as a way of life.

Elementary and high-school teachers are flocking into better paying defense jobs as they did during World War II, when 300,000 teachers above the usual turnover are reported to have left the profession. Approximately 70,000 new teachers, it is estimated, will be needed to replace those who leave this year. In addition, more than 800,000 additional pupils are expected to be enrolled in the elementary schools than were entered last year, to add to the overcrowding of classrooms and the heavy teaching loads which already prevail. To meet this crisis there will be even fewer students completing the requirements for teaching than qualified in 1951, when only 46,000 new teachers were added and the need was for more than 75,000. And new school construction is at a minimum because scarce steel is being allocated for defense purposes. Both the federal-aid-to-education and the special school-construction programs which President Truman has asked Congress to approve are obviously essential.

America's world responsibilities in the years ahead create an urgent need for more and better educated professional people. Experience in dealing with other countries makes it clear that by far our greatest strength as a people lies in our possession of "know-how." Our ability to grow in "know-how" and to transmit that knowledge to others may be the measure of our success in world leadership for peace. Yet today the foundations of our educational system are being undermined from the grade schools to advanced technical training, educational progress is on the decline.

There is no trick legislation by which to relieve the burdens of inflation for those who are being hardest hit. There are moves which can be made all along the line, however, to equalize the cost of national mobilization more nearly than it is now apportioned—even taking into consideration the kind of Congress and the strength of special-interest pressure groups. Unless we take them, we are in danger of sacrificing precious qualities in our national character.

Hold the Price Line. Price Stabilizer Michael DiSalle has been beset on one side by a water-weak price-control law, with the built-in increase provisions of the Capehart and other amendments, and hounded on the other by legislators acting for special interests [Sen. Burnet Maybank (D, S.C.) played a mighty role in establishing OPS cotton policy; Sen. Joseph O'Mahoney (D, Wyo.) strongly affected its wool policies; and Sen. Homer Capehart and William Jenner (R, Ind.) steered pricing policies to favor countless other special interests, to name a few]. Even with the present restrictions, however, price control can be made more effective in 1952 through the following moves by the OPS:

1. Tailor ceiling prices to market prices wherever the opportunity arises. This has been done in too few instances.

2. Strive for more dollar-and-cents ceiling prices in place of the present system of percentage markups over costs. The "community food pricing" experiment, planned in three cities next month to place dollar-and-cents ceilings on retail food products, is long overdue.

3. Full implementation of the recent delegation of authority which would disallow price-violation payments in determining business costs and expenses on income-tax returns. This strong weapon, so late in coming into use, would permit effective policing of many ceiling prices from behind a desk.

4. A shakeup of lower echelon OPS personnel, too many of whom come directly from the industries with which they are now negotiating price levels.

5. Active encouragement of public-minded consumer groups to police the observance of price ceilings in their communities. This would partially relieve the problem of critical understaffing in the OPS, the result of severe

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budget limitations on the OPS imposed by the last Congress.

These steps should make it possible to hold the price line where it is now. To regain the ground lost through runaway prices due to profiteering immediately following the outbreak in Korea would require major changes in the present price law, repeal of the Capehart Amendment and the agricultural provisions which prevent sharp controls on food and discourage full farm production, and enact a more stringent rent-control law.

Equalize the Burden. The tax bill passed by Congress last year, in the words of Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D, Minn.), "opens the door wide for favored groups to escape their fair share of the tax burden."

The heaviest weight of taxes has fallen unfairly on the lower income groups and small businessmen and farmers. Those earning more than $10,000 a year pay $11.7 billion of the annual tax bill today, while those earning under $10,000 must pay $14.7 billion. While corporation and excess-profits taxes have been raised, they still remain a reservoir only partially tapped. Individual Americans are paying the highest average annual federal taxes per person in history: $410. But still President Truman must call for additional revenues in 1952 to support the mobilization program. Up to $4 billion can be obtained merely by closing the cautiously contrived, yawning loopholes open to high-income individuals and corporations, without increasing taxes for the average man any further.

Here are some of the most vicious loopholes and the income which can be derived by closing them:

$2.5 billion—Abolish the split-income provision which permits husbands and wives to divide the family income for tax purposes. A family with an income of less than $5,000 receives practically no benefits. A family with an annual income of $500,000 would save $25,000 or more.

$750 million—do away with "depletion allowances" presently given to oil, gas, coal and other mining companies and subtracted from their income before figuring taxes.

$610 million—increase the excess-profits tax as proposed in the original House tax bill of last year.

$325 million—impose a 20-percent withholding tax on dividends, interest and royalties such as now applies to wages and salaries.

$100 million—eliminate specially designed relief provisions for individuals and corporations under family partnerships.

$20 million—increase the capital-gains-tax rate to the same ratio as applies to individual income taxes.

Millions more—revise estate and gift-tax laws as proposed by the Administration.

Protect the status of those most damaged by inflation. In view of the price structure today, the federal minimum-wage law should be revised to make $1 an hour the legal minimum.

Social-security benefits should be liberalized to take into account rises in the cost of living.

Federal aid to education in many forms, including aid to medical education as recommended by the President, is necessary to equalize educational opportunity.

The load of medical expense, more than the average family could support even before inflation set in, must be shared by the federal government. The establishment of the President's Commission on Health Needs is a step forward. Above this, we need an expansion of community health services and some form of national health insurance.

V. THE CORE OF LEADERSHIP

THE HEART and core of leadership lies in the American spirit. Rightly Roosevelt summarized the State of the Union in 1943 by declaring:

"The heart of this nation is sound—the spirit of this nation is strong—the faith of this nation is eternal."

Can we be as confident today?

In civil rights we have made steady progress toward achieving the full measure of citizenship so long denied colored Americans. The President's executive order banning discrimination in plants fulfilling government contracts compensates in part for the lack of Congressional action. The progress of the Air Force, the Navy and the Army in Korea in ending segregation is heartening, even if the Army at home has been inexcusably timid and insubordinate in ignoring the President's order of July, 1948.

In contrast, in civil liberty, the State of the Union is disheartening. Suppression of unpopular ideas is increasing. The federal loyalty program is blossoming into its full evil flower. The McCarran Act is denying American freedom to our own citizens and to thousands of immigrants and travelers. The judicial philosophy of Truman's appointees to the Supreme Court is demonstrating its power to undermine our traditional safety in what Justice Black described on January 2 as "recent decisions . . . sanctioning abridgement of the freedom of speech and of the press."

We have retreated, and the extent of our retreat is

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most dramatically seen in the McCarran Act, described by the American Civil Liberties Union as "the worst departure since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 from the central principle of American law that a man is accountable only for his *own* illegal *acts*." Its immigration provisions have caused 1,500 aliens to be detained at Ellis Island and have raised barriers to entry for scientists, conductors and underground organizers alike. Americans have also suffered.

All across America cities, states and municipalities have followed McCarran's lead.

The federal loyalty program has emerged as a more pervasive form of intimidation. Its impact in rooting foreign agents and subversives out of government has never been established. In more than three million persons subject to investigation, the loyalty of one in two thousand has been found questionable. Those dismissed have been low paid employees such as janitors and elevator operators whose misery led them to join protest movements in depression years.

For these achievements the US has paid a heavy price in sacrifice of principles. The loyalty boards instituted, and the Supreme Court upheld, in the Dorothy Bailey case, procedures that included the branding of Americans as disloyal without trial by jury and without the opportunity of the accused to learn the identity of his accusers, or the nature of their charges. The Loyalty Review Board has now established that government servants can be branded if there is a "reasonable doubt" of their loyalty.

Never in our recent history have the courts permitted citizens to be punished without open trial and evidence. Never in Anglo-Saxon law has punishment been sanctioned unless there is preponderance of evidence concerning guilt, not just a reasonable doubt. The government and the Supreme Court blandly contend that dismissal from government on charges of disloyalty does not constitute punishment. But no one who has seen what men dismissed have suffered in humiliation, persecution and blacklisting can doubt that the court and the government have turned a blind eye to justice and truth.

Many civil servants have been charged because others were jealous of their position, or resented their opposition to corrupt deals, or didn't like their names, or their friendship for Negroes. In investigations questions such as "Do you approve of the loyalty program?" "Have you made derogatory remarks about Senator McCarthy" and "Do you disapprove of segregating blood in blood banks?" have been pressed as evidence of disloyalty to the United States. A small part of the investigation concerns Communist affiliation; more concerns unpopular views. The simple fact that there were 10 million unemployed in America in 1932 and none in Russia is wholly ignored today. Interrogators ask in effect: "Why did you concern yourself with curing unemployment in 1932 instead of staying home or watching baseball games?"

It is not only those who are dismissed who are punished. It is also those who remain. Any man, hauled before a loyalty board must set out to prove first that he is more anti-Communist than the panel of men which is trying him; second, that he has conformed to the most orthodox political opinions since childhood. By these standards, every imaginative public servant is forced into perjury. From that time on all public servants, from the Secretary of State, who is frozen in an attitude of anti-Communism, to the lowest research worker who ignores unpalatable facts, become unconscious slaves.

Probing into the minds of the free citizens starts in the federal government. But states and municipalities with the sanction of the Supreme Court have taken up the cue. In turn, private corporations, schools and colleges have adopted their own loyalty oaths and blacklists. The measure of freedom in any society is the degree of dissent that is permitted. By this measure we are less free day by day. Men can no longer question with impunity that military power is the answer to Communism; that Christianity is a superior religion; that free enterprise and democracy are one and the same; that an American found guilty by a Communist court is automatically innocent; that a Communist found innocent by an American court should be punished anyway.

This growing ideology of conformism, so alien to America's tradition and genius, is a direct threat to our safety and our ability to live in peace. For as the problems of world leadership that we face are new we must think anew before we can act anew. Yet this new insistence on conformism, by punishing unpopular views obstructs the conception and development of new ideas. The challenging truth, which we have not feared until today to face, is that most great innovations of history begin as unpopular ideas.

Faced with this danger, what can men of good will do?

The evil started to spread when control of subversion was taken out of competent hands and given to mob-influenced groups. That is where it must be checked again. The issue can be posed to every candidate for office in this way: will you attempt to confine the control of subversion to the standard techniques of counter-espionage and proof of overt acts on the basis of evidence produced in open court? Unimportant as this may seem to those who are impatient to get on with the job of beating Russia, in the long run, there is no task more important for America than this.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Harold E. Is For Stassen*

"TELL ME, pretty Stassen, are there any more at home like you?" Surely, future American historians will unanimously support the belief, currently entertained by "himself," that Harold E. Stassen is doing more than Abraham Lincoln could ever have hoped to do to establish and maintain the Republican Party. If the Republican Party does not find it possible to nominate, in June, a candidate for President, who has at least a chance to win, it will be no fault of the (temporary) president of the University of Pennsylvania. As an administrator of a great university, it is something to marvel at that he should have had so much time to devote to the truffling of a candidate in whom the voters might have such confidence that they would rally to his support next November in victorious numbers. But doubtless, now that Mr. Stassen, greatly to the surprise of his "admirers," has coyly offered himself as such a possibility, the minds of some heretofore restless Republicans have been set at rest.

He would be a captious critic indeed who would raise a doubt as to Mr. Stassen's superb availability for pinching enough salt onto the tail of the mighty American eagle to bring that greatest of its species to the protection of the one man in the United States who is best qualified to govern, both wisely and well, and who, to an equal degree, has both the will and the wit to pledge the Stassen administration to "firm financial policies in Washington." Of course, the cloth can be cut to fit the heroic measurements almost equal to those of General MacArthur—that Stassen's too-modest tape measure has discovered to be necessary to the Presidential figure upon whose shoulders it will rest. Not unwilling to help their country in its dire crisis in the only manner in which it can be helped, the obliging Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania has voted quickly to grant Mr. Stassen a leave of absence without salary, for the duration of the Presidential campaign. The most significant language in this self-denying resolution of Mr. Stassen's present board of trustees was that he would not be paid a salary during the leave.

My principal interest in Governor Stassen and his sweating political ambition, since he made the long, lonely fight for the Republican nomination that led to his decisive defeat by Governor Dewey at Philadelphia in 1948, has been the sources and the sums of his campaign funds. I have asked him questions as to these sources more than once, as have others. So far as I know, he has never condescended to tell the American people, who are entitled to know, how much money he has spent, what it has been paid for, and from whence it has come. Understanding of the dangerous effect of money from interstate vice and crime is developing the source of campaign funds into one of the most pressing and searching issues of 1952. He but mocks the people and denies them their rights to the fullest possible information who demands a nomination for President of the United States, while denying the voters vital information on this score. It has become increasingly clear that the people are beginning to grasp the fact that the source of campaign funds, its expenditure and the details of its expenditures, are of supreme importance, if we are to preserve our institutions from the doom of gangsterism and criminal exploitation. Since Mr. Stassen has seen fit to get into the Republican race by what, superficially at least, has the appearance of boldness rather than of slipping into it as a stowaway, he is doubtless prepared to clear up many questions that have bothered many people since 1948.

One thing is clear and that is that Mr. Stassen wants to impress the people with all of the precision of a Joe McCarthy. At a press conference in Philadelphia on December 27, Mr. Stassen announced with all of the positiveness that seems to characterize present-day political marathonists that, if he were elected President (as of course he surely would be), he would lose no time in ridding the federal payrolls of "the 200,000 loafers now included among the federal employees." That certainly is as precise as the number of Communists in the State Department that the unscrupulous McCarthy has been so busy in having fired since he first counted their noses. When a reporter asked him how he "arrived at the figure of 200,000," Stassen was neither to be intimidated nor confused. As bold as a MacArthur or a McCarthy, he stuck to his round figure and even explained why one of every 10 federal employees is a loafer. This vital and important information was the result of work by "a little survey group that I appointed," he said. When, where or by what authority, Mr. Stassen appointed "a little survey group," what processes were employed by that group, and to whom was the report made or where, Mr. Stassen has not yet found time to make known to the people whose President he would be. Who paid for this "little survey group"? The University of Pennsylvania?

Harold E., please note, is for Stassen alone.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE PSYCHOANALYSIS OF TRUTH AND CULTURE

by C. Wright Mills

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND POLITICS, by R. E. Money-Kyrle (Norton; $4).
PSYCHOANALYSIS, MAN AND SOCIETY, by Paul Schilder. Arranged by Lauretta Bender (Norton; $4).

AT A TIME when the technician increasingly dwarfs the intellectual, psychoanalysts are not afraid to tackle big themes on an encyclopedic scale. Although, as far as I know, there are no cultural giants currently among them, many of them do have firmly in mind the model and the tradition of a cultural giant. Above all, they try to respond fully to events around them, to treat their private experiences as publicly important, and to write about recognizably human problems with the whole force of their intellectual abilities.

Of course there is a price to be paid for this unacademic conduct. Many psychoanalysts write about subjects of which much is known which they do not know; in such matters, like some anthropologists, they are Literary Minds in the worst sense of the phrase: always articulate and sometimes clever, but often ignorant. Their courage to take hold of big, live issues (which is commendable) sometimes springs from a feeling that they, unlike other men, stoutly have hold of the tail of the universe. At their best, in social and political matters, they are personal essayists, rivaling their eighteenth-century predecessors; at their worst, they are ponderously chuckle-headed. If they are good, they display much insight and are full of stimulating hunches; if they are bad, they think they are proving something merely by writing about it. If they are flexible, they give you new visions; if they are mechanical, they are merely ridiculous. Nevertheless, in the intercom system of American intellectual life, the psychoanalysts are now among the most interesting voices.

R. E. Money-Kyrle is one of the best of them. Having observed totalitarianism, and later having worked in the Occupation of Germany, he found "ethical relativism . . . emotionally untenable" and so began to search for an "intellectually satisfying alternative." Was he involved in the Occupation only by right of conquest, or by some moral right that could be justified by reason? For the task of answering such questions he is rarely equipped: he is a psychoanalyst who has personally experienced the verbal cathartic of logical positivism. He knows that just because psychoanalysis is an uncodified area, it is necessarily beset by philosophical problems, and at the same time that, if one can reason closely, it is an excellent context in which to raise them. His philosophic interest prompts him to work out a theory of mental development; his ethical yen prods him to develop a conception of "the normal individual" that is not relative to varying cultural standards but, at least in a formal way, to rationality itself.

I do not think he succeeds in this latter effort, but in his search he rigorously explores the border lines of morals and psychology. The lasting value of his work lies more in the sharp way in which he develops two types of superego, the authoritarian and the humanist, and sets forth the social conditions for their flowering, than it does in his attempt, however bold and important, to link normality with truth and to prove that increasing insight always produces a greater humanism.

Money-Kyrle shares with Freud the Enlightenment's identification of rationality with freedom, and in this he lacks sociological sophistication, for there are rational social structures that by no means lead to increasing freedom for man. Moreover—and I think this the key difficulty of his attempt to link normality with truth—he insists that all the analyst does is reveal truths to the patient about himself; I believe that the analyst in his interpretations also imparts values. Nevertheless, I am not aware of any recent attempt to anchor humanist values empirically that is as cogent or as important as Money-Kyrle's.

In the second half of his book he examines group relations, the individual and society, the state's influence on personality development and the psychic roots of political motives. Here his most interesting accomplishment is the skillful disclosure of mediating conditions between large social forms and intimate types of personality development. He avoids the easy inferences from the conditions of infancy to politically relevant character traits which analysts are often so quick to draw. Instead, he traces the links of men and societies minutely, both within single generations and between generations—that is, both biographically and historically. Another reason for his cogency is his avoidance of the sponge term "culture," which obfuscates this range of issues as often as it permits their sharper statement and solution. And he does not over-interpret: for example, he is quite aware that inflationary loss of economic independence, as well as psychoanalytic processes, were involved in the German civil service's lack of effective moral resistance to fascism. He knows that it is probably nonsense to talk of "the German character," that instead one must think about types of character in the official classes of Germany, and that the historical fact of bureaucracy is as causally serious as early childhood training.

Paul Schilder, in this posthumous collection of essays, relates the concerns of psychiatry to the contents of various social issues. He writes in a disjointed style which stems, I believe, from some unfortunate lack of logical forcefulness, and even from vagueness of conception. It is difficult to summarize his major intention and accomplishment, because

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he reveals no systematic intention and his accomplishment is more that of scattered insights than of any movement of ideas. One may accept much of what he writes about success and failure, criminal tendencies and war psychology, alcoholism, the psychoanalysis of economics; and one may admire certain isolated sentences which stand out as clean and neat. But when the reader is through, he has not retained any synoptic view or any connected set of arguments. Although we are kept at a sometimes brilliantly high level of reflection, we are not moved along with it or by it.

C. Wright Mills, associate professor of Sociology at Columbia University, is the author of White Collar: The American Middle Classes.

THE MISSOURI BASIN

THE DAMNED MISSOURI VALLEY, by Richard G. Baumhoff (Knopf; $3.75).
MUDDY WATERS, by Arthur Maass (Harvard University Press; $4.75).

FEW NOTIONS are more erroneous than the idea that, because Congress has not yet authorized the establishment of a Missouri Valley Authority, the MVA campaign is a lost battle. Not only has much of the work contemplated by MVA advocates been done, but to some extent the central theme of their thinking has been adopted.

Thus Richard G. Baumhoff of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* can report: "Valley Regionalism is an accomplished fact. The question before the nation is how best to handle it." It is being handled now by the Missouri Basin Interagency Committee, which was set up at almost the same time the first atomic bombs fell on Japan and has spent close to two-thirds of the $2 billion it cost to produce the bombs.

The Interagency Committee is an outgrowth of the Pick-Sloan Plan, the shotgun marriage by which the MVA originally was headed off. On it are representatives of all the federal agencies concerned with flood control, navigation, irrigation, conservation, power production and natural-resources development as well as spokesmen for the 10 states embraced in the Missouri basin. It has planned about 150 dams which would eventually have a storage capacity of 110 million acre-feet, or enough water to cover all of Rhode Island to a depth of 140 feet. A few of the major dams and many of the minor ones, together with power plants, locks and the like, already have been built. Large lakes have been created in a semi-arid region and miles of irrigation ditches have been dug.

All this, however, does not mean that the problem of the Missouri is well in hand. For one thing, the Interagency Committee is a *voluntary* organization. It makes decisions only by unanimous vote, and every now and then the representative of one of its constituent agencies reminds his colleagues that he does not take his orders from the committee. In 1950, the Engineers Joint Council, representing the engineering societies of the United States, severely criticized both the planning and the execution of the Missouri-basin program. The engineers deplored the lack of adequate agricultural, industrial and sociological studies prior to authorization as well as the difficulties inherent in a program carried out by competing federal agencies.

How bad those agencies can be is demonstrated in the study which Arthur Maass subtitled: "The Army Engineers and the Nation's Rivers." Constitutionally, the Engineers are supposed to be an agency of the executive branch of the government. Actually, they are a law unto themselves, and they maintain this defiant status by a shrewd pork-barrel alliance with Congress.

Maass shows, by chapter and verse, that the Army Engineers have been arbitrary and extravagant in adjusting the conflicts of local and area interests which they encounter; that they have failed to meet sound engineering standards. For example, they are generally over-optimistic in their estimates of waterway traffic. They are frequently hostile to multiple-purpose dams; and when they do install a dynamo, they want no part in the distribution of the electricity which it produces. They undertake works at federal expense which ought to be paid for by local communities or even private corporations. Yet both Maass and Baumhoff agree that even the Engineers are groping toward a broader point of view.

This may be attributed to the Hoover Commission, the Cooke report on Water Resources Policy, the advocates of a Missouri Valley Authority and all the other elements in the growing body of opinion which insists on approaching the country's great river valleys as the regional units they are, instead of covering each watershed with a patchwork of projects, unrelated in planning, costly in execution and inadequate in what should be their over-all purpose. Powerful public and private agencies stand against the realization of a truly integrated plan for the control of the Missouri and the development of its valley, but the logic of such a plan cannot be overcome, and the river's frequent and disastrous floods are urgent reminders to the nation to get on with the job.

ERNEST KIRSCHTEN

Ernest Kirschten, an editorial writer for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, has been closely connected with MVA developments from the beginning of the project.

THE WALK HOME

A WALKER IN THE CITY, by Alfred Kazin (Harcourt, Brace; $3).

AS ALFRED KAZIN walks in Brownsville, he remembers other walks he has taken through its streets. Smells, sights and sounds come back, bringing with them memories of the things that he once felt. These strokes soon combine and recreate the place and time and the boy the writer was. Then, recalling still other walks, he goes beyond the neighborhood. His world begins to ripple out. The twenties turn into the thirties. This lovely book becomes a book about New York. The picture of one sensitive boy becomes that of all such boys growing into new horizons.

The boy walks with the man. It's the boy who feels. But he does not always know, he often can't describe, what it is that he is feeling. The adult then selects the precise words that evoke, that *retrieve*, the experience.

Though it deals with local color, this book shuns the easy humor that is usual to the genre. Kazin tells of poverty. He writes about a boy who stammered—one who often was unhappy. Yet his pages have retained neither

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rancor nor self-pity. Though they have a sadness, it is of a different nature. In the kitchen, he would play "a little music." The pages have the sadness of his violin's slow movement.

A slow movement came to his parents "as a reminiscence of a reminiscence." He would "watch them softening, easing, already on the brink of tears." Despite the deep bonds of the group, a sense of loneliness was close. "All slow movements fell into a single chant of *der heym.*"

Though he felt the warmth of a mutual devotion, the boy knew their longing. He knew, in addition, a homesickness for the future. For the things that lay before him.

The book ends in the summer before he enters college. New people, new ideas—new worlds have begun to open, and he opens to receive them. He looks at the distant lights. . .

"They were searching out," he says, "so many new things in me."

Yet it's not the end. This is not where we leave the boy. For he will become the man. He'll be walking quietly through these noisy blocks. He will look with open eyes. He will see each threadbare fault. But the writer has his roots in his youthful rootlessness. These alien streets are home. Home—and therefore dear. NATHAN HALPER

THE MEDAL'S OBVERSE

THE FORESTS OF THE NIGHT, by Jean-Louis Curtis (Putnam; $3.50).

TIME: Spring, 1949.

PLACE: A Paris café.

AMERICAN: (in a tone of shocked surprise) What? But wasn't she a collaborator?

PARISIENNE: (*wearily*) And who, my dear, was not?

AMERICAN: But what about the Resistance heroes and those commemorative plaques for them?

PARISIENNE: If many Frenchmen were heroes, would we have street corners enough for individual plaques? And those others who died—well, there are people who need a heroic death.

THE ATTITUDE and the information were quite a surprise to an American who had been fed on stories of the great, unified Resistance, and the bewilderment deepened as one observed the trigger-quick temper and the distrustful manner of the French and heard Parisians cursing Bretons and Normans whose wives grew fat and fur-bearing during the Occupation while city children lived on carrots.

The bitterness and the guilt, the cynicism and suspicion which still sour the French air are traced back to their sources in a recent Prix Goncourt novel by Jean-Louis Curtis. *The Forests of the Night* uses the town of St. Clar, near the Pyrenees, as France in microcosm during the occupation. It has its aristocrats—those who are charmed by German good manners and culture, those who are tolerant along with their Maréchal, and those who are too remote from the present to care much. It has its peasants and shopkeepers who are mesmerized by the flow of German money into their tills, and it has its varied young—those who are fascinated by the strong and novel Germans, those who fight them and those who decay in the decadent atmosphere.

The greed and indifference which are the native atmosphere of the town make the invasion less a conquest than a gentle mutual seduction, a comfortable affair disturbed by the Liberation, which produces hysterical denunciations, lying defenses and the kicking and clawing of one's neighbor in order to beat him to a conspicuous place on the right side of the new political lines.

It is not a pretty picture Curtis gives us in his witty and bitter, angry and compassionate novel, but it has a purging, desperate honesty, revealing the tarnished or "assistance" side of the dazzling Resistance medal. KATE SIMON

MOVIES

Far and Wide

WELL ON in the battle for Europe, when the Germans had been pushed to the Rhine, intelligence units of the Allied armies began to send selected prisoners of war back across the lines on espionage work. George Howe, who was attached to a US Intelligence team, later set down his observations in a novel, *Call It Treason*, and the book now comes to the screen as *Decision Before Dawn*, produced and directed by Anatole Litvak. It is one of the more seriously intentioned war pictures, meticulously and very expensively made in Germany and cast with an interesting and international group of actors, among them Richard Basehart, Gary Merrill, Oskar Werner, Hans Christian Blech, Hildegarde Neff and Dominique Blanchar. It suffers some from a rather badly constructed scenario which carries one of the characters off on a long solo adventure that strands the rest of the action for a good third of the film, and from a jerkiness of editing that occasionally obscures the story line. This lack of clarity was probably caused by cutting, but the picture is still too long (130 minutes) for its content.

I gather from some rather stilted dialogue put into the mouth of Basehart that the novel was not only an adventure tale but an exploration of the motives that turn soldiers into traitors. The picture professes to a like depth of interest, but its investigation of ideals and ambitions is by no means as successful as its tale of fear and danger. It seemed to me that the American actors and the American text were at fault here; Basehart and Merrill dutifully speak their lines of puzzlement and suspicion and occasional admiration, but there seemed no conviction to their preoccupation with the subject. Werner and Blech, playing a young soldier-student in revolt against his experiences and a cold opportunist determined to work on the winning side, look as though they understand the shadowy morality of betrayal. They are hampered by the lack of subtlety in the parts they play.

The Film Board of the United Nations is sponsor for *Passion for Life*, a French film that demonstrates the methods and results of modern educational techniques at the grade-school level. The picture has been shrewdly made to look like entertainment by Jean-Paul Le Chanois, whose script contains a good deal of conventional wit and conflict and who has directed the picture in a sort of composite French movie style. Parts of it are like *Generals Without Buttons*, parts are reminiscent of the *Fanny* trilogy, parts recall *The Baker's Wife* or any other "earthy" French comedy. It is like eating in a French restaurant that knows all the recipes but has no real chef in the kitchen.

As a lecture, which is what it really is, *Passion for Life* has notable weaknesses. It presents with an air of surprised delight a series of truths about progressive education (for example, that you get better results from children by

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adapting the curriculum to their interests than by forcing them into a pattern of memory drills) that have been widely accepted for some time. Moreover, it offers its rather obvious discoveries with an unrestrained optimism that will seem naïve to anyone who has watched a progressive school in action. Modern methods have a great deal to recommend them, but they don't work so smoothly or produce such overnight transformations as depicted here. The picture is greatly strengthened by the quiet but intense conviction of Bernard Blier as the teacher; the children and adults of Provence, enlisted on location, perform their village roles with an easy persuasiveness that says a good deal for M. Le Chanois' personality as a director.

If you are to enjoy *Rasho-mon*, the picture that won the first prize at the Venice Film Festival last fall, you must be prepared to accept, or at least to overlook, certain peculiarities of Japanese film making. The creators of *Rasho-mon* were intent on expounding a viewpoint of moral philosophy (interesting enough, though not profound) and they gave not a damn about narrative pace, suspense, or the dramatic potentiality of the medium. By our standards the picture is incredibly slow (for the first ten minutes nothing happens at all), it is repetitious, it is humorlessly solemn, and it could have been produced on a Punch-and-Judy stage. Furthermore, Japanese actors employ a style of delivery calculated to flatten the scenery. They howl and spit, they leap in the air, beat the shrubbery, rend their garments, roll on the ground, foam at the mouth and scratch their fleas. You must be prepared for a high wind in *Rasho-mon*.

Nevertheless, it is an absorbing picture. There is elegance and a consistent balance underlying the histrionics; once you become accustomed to the explosiveness, the acting seems fresh and marvelously communicative, like archaic grotesques. The narration is long-winded but it is as neat as Japanese fretwork. A bandit has attacked a merchant and his wife; he has bound up the man, raped the woman, and gone his anarchic way. The man has been found dead by the wayside, the woman is picked up in a state of terror and shock, the bandit is caught and brought to court at the end of a leash. What happened—what happened that really mattered—among these three? The bandit tells his version, the wife hers, the husband his (through a medium), and finally the tale is told once more by a woodchopper who spied upon the scene. Each reconstructs the tragedy (it is thus acted in detail four times) according to his own fears, vanities and passions. The main facts are the same, but, says the picture, the stories are alike only in their selfishness. The one thing you can be certain of about a man is that his understanding of truth will be to his best advantage. Then there is a little epilogue of sentimental humanity that seems to repudiate the cynicism. I don't understand why it was tacked on; it is arbitrary and spoils the sour point of the piece. It is, however, the only artistic flaw I can find.

The effect of *Rasho-mon* on an Occidental audience is compelling. There is a hypnotic force to the four repetitions of the same scene, with the focus slightly shifted each time. And though the action is confined, the photography is inventive. It can be flatly realistic, it uses perspective like a surrealist, it is sometimes marvelously selective, and it blurs and stutters to convey speed, confusion, panic. Akira Kurosawa is the director.

Of the cast, the most impressive is Toshira Mifune as the bandit. He appears variously as a vain savage, a gallant swordsman (the sword play is superb), an ardent lover, a murderous lout, a half-mad wild man of the woods. It is subtle work, for he is always the same man seen through different eyes. Just next to him in excellence are Masayuki Mori as the cold-blooded, punctilious husband, and Takashi Shimura as the frightened woodchopper. Machiko Kyo, the heroine, seemed to me less vital and a good deal heavier than the others. ROBERT HATCH

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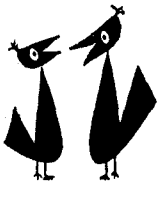

MUSIC

Lunt at the Opera

ALFRED LUNT'S staging of Mozart's *Così Fan Tutte* at the Metropolitan Opera is a triumph of intelligence, sensibility and genuine artistic humility. He has made a popular success, perhaps even a hit, of a subtle and problematic period comedy that has never before held its own in the repertory, and he has done this without compromising either the values of Mozart's music or the requirements of up-to-date stagecraft.

Lorenzo Da Ponte's libretto for *Così Fan Tutte* is a painfully slender affair which probably would not have been tolerated for all these years if it had not been associated with some of Mozart's greatest music. The story hinges upon a wager between an elderly bachelor and two soldiers: All women are alike, Don Alfonso maintains, in their inability to remain faithful in the face of temptation. Ferrando and Guglielmo are sure that Fiordiligi and Dorabella, the sisters of whom they are enamoured, are exceptions. Disguising themselves as Albanian merchants, the soldiers carry

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out a series of intrigues—and lose their bet.

So contrived an argument requires the deliberately artificial staging Lunt gave it. He set the tone of the piece by appearing, after the overture, in eighteenth-century costume to light the footlights and gently rebuke coughers and late-comers. The curtain rose on an enchanting stage-within-a-stage setting by Rolf Gerard, with a latticed proscenium and transparent architectural details through which a backdrop of the Bay of Naples was visible. The subsequent settings retained the same airy unreality and provided a perfect and unobtrusive background for the careful and elaborate schematizations of the action.

In several arduous weeks of stiff rehearsal Lunt had persuaded six individualistic opera singers to develop a feeling of ensemble that is rare in any opera house and almost unknown at the Metropolitan. The singers moved as if they were used to their costumes, and the many poses, tableaux and semi-choreographic figurations demanded of them looked sightly and professional.

The only serious flaw in Lunt's conception of the opera, it seemed to me, was his sacrifice of characterization to outward stylization. In the first of the two acts, the libretto repeatedly matches the singers in pairs, quartets and sextets, and Lunt's graceful geometries were appropriate. In the second act, however, individuals emerge—particularly Fiordiligi, who experiences a sense of guilt her sister does not share. The music frequently breaks over the line between artifice and passion, and I did not find that Lunt's direction brought out this development.

Musically, the performance—sung by Eleanor Steber, Blanche Thebom, Patrice Munsel, Richard Tucker, Frank Guarrera and John Brownlee—was workmanlike rather than bright and easy. Most of the responsibility for the somewhat pedestrian presentation of the score must be laid to Fritz Stiedry, whose conducting had little élan or dramatic edge. On the whole, Da Ponte came out better than Mozart, but even so it was a production of which the Metropolitan may be proud.

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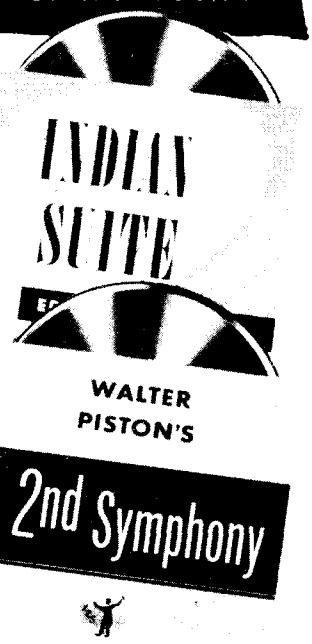

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